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THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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JUN 16 1992
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BY

Lieutenant Colonel Saud S. Abid
Saudi Armed Forces

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THE NEW WORLD ORDER
AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

by

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ABSTRACT

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USAWC MILITARY STUDIES PROGRAM

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

AN INDIVIDUAL STUDY PROJECT

BY

LIEUTENANT COLONEL SAUD S. ABID

COLONEL DAVID E. MARKS

PROJECT ADVISER

THE NEW WORLD ORDER

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THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Introduction. Political leaders love to ride slogans, such as "New World Order", "The Great Society", "The New Deal", "The New Frontier", "New Order" and many others. Leaders think a slogan may be enough. It is often an expression of pride in a nation's accomplishments, a means of getting the nation to focus on the future. However, they often make these statements without noticing the impact and challenges such "Philosophies" have at local, regional and international levels, those changes which are mandated in each issue. Examples of the many changes in focus which may have real impact upon the stated new world order policies and their strategic implementation follow below.

The differences between economic standards in first world and third world countries are remarkable. Economic instability is exacerbated in the second world countries which are wavering on alliances between "have" and "have not" nations.

The abandonment of communism as an ideology by the nations who adopted it, because of dictatorship, pauperism, shaky economics and need to buildup military forces at the expense of the nations' food fund, has had great impact on the framework of the new world order.

The internal crisis in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, accompanied by the great Fall of Communism, as people seek freedom, democracy and strive to rework the political structures, has been tremendous and is still to be played out.

Historically breathtaking, the year 1989 signaled the end of the Cold War and the success of antiautocracy movements in Eastern

Europe and the Soviet Union, and its impact on the armament races in the world demonstrated the potential threats of destruction to the world. The subsequent reunification of East and West Germany is a long-term factor to be taken into consideration regarding the international economic competition between the U.S., West Europe and Japan.

The Gulf war and the creation of a successful coalition to enforce U.N. resolutions gives the U.N. more international respect and responsibility. The question is : Is the U.N. equipped with the proper authority and capability to meet its responsibilities ?

What is the U.S. role as the sole superpower in the world ? Is it the policeman of the world, executor of U.N. resolutions or spreader of the freedom and democracy in according to American values and standards ?

What is the U.S. role to control nuclear armaments ? President George Bush's initiative on Saturday (September 28 1991) to decrease international tension by reducing the threat of thermonuclear war has long-term implications and many details need to finetuned, as the world responds in kind to support this U.S. initiative and the Soviet Union initiative which was issued by Mr. Mikail Gorbachev on Saturday (October 5 1991).

What is the U.S. role in response to, or in support of the events in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe ? Must the U.S. alone continue to oppose communism and foster democracy and thus actively support the independence of newly democratic republics and states from their former communist masters ?

What is the new U.S. role in the Middle East peace talks ? Is a change in U.S. policy in that unstable important corner of the world needed ? How will the U.S. and the West assure access to international communication lines ? How will the U.S. and the West approach the armament balance in the region (with the exception of Israel)? How will the international community of nations replace terrorism and violence with stability, peace, freedom and democracy?

Can we say that we shall have a new world order, or will there be disorder, that what I should discuss and analyze in the following paragraphs:

1. The Definition.
2. The Fall of the Communist Parties between the Theory and the Practice.
3. The role of the U.S.A.
4. The End of the Cold War .
5. Democracy and the New World Order.
6. Economic Order.
7. The United Nations.
8. The role of Islamic World and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The Definition: The hopes for a New World Order became closely associated with the United Nations largely through the Experience of the Gulf war, the Failure of the Giant Red Bear, the Reunification between East and West Germany and the dramatic changes in Eastern European countries, all of this change was accompanied by remarkable progress on previously intractable

conflicts in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Southern Africa and Nicaragua. The "new world order" concept was first mooted early in the Gulf crisis by President George Bush by the following statement :

A new world order is not a fact; it is an aspiration and an opportunity. We have within our grasp an extraordinary possibility that few generations have enjoyed to build a new international system in accordance with our own values and ideals, as old patterns and certainties crumble around us. In the Gulf we caught a glimmer of a better future a new world community brought together by a growing consensus that force cannot be used to settle disputes and that when that consensus is broken, the world will respond. In the Gulf, we saw the United Nations playing the role dreamed of by its founder, with the world's leading nations orchestrating and sanctioning collective action against aggression. But we remain in a period of transition. The old has been swept away, the new not yet fully in place. The obstacles and uncertainties before us are quite real- the daunting problems confronting the hopes for reform in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, trade disputes and burdensharing debates among the industrial democracies, and the turmoil and dangers in the developing world. Yet, the Gulf crisis showed what the world community is now capable of, and in the very act of meeting that challenge the world community strengthened itself. I hope history will record that the Gulf crisis was the crucible of the new world order.

It is up to us-our generation in America and the world - to bring these extraordinary possibilities to fruition. And in doing this, American leadership is indispensable. That is our challenge. Our response, outlined in this report, is shaped by what we are as a people, for our values are the link between our past and our future, between our domestic life and our foreign policy, between our power and our purpose. It is our deepest belief that all nations and peoples seek political and economic freedom; that governments must rest their rightful authority on the consent of the governed, and must live in peace with their neighbors. The collapse of the communist idea has shown that our vision of individual rights

a vision imbedded in the faith of our Founders - speaks to humanity's enduring hopes and aspirations. It is this abiding faith in democracy that steels us to deal with a world that, for all our hope, remains a dangerous place - a world of ethnic antagonism, national rivalries, religious tensions, spreading weaponry, personal ambitions and lingering authoritarianism. For America, there can be no retreat from the world's problems. Within the broader community of nations, we see our own role clearly. We must not only protect our citizens and our interests, but help create a new world in which our fundamental values not only survive but flourish. We must work with others, but we must also be a leader¹.

The Fall of the Communist Parties between the Theory and the Practice. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union collapsed after the failure of the Communist Parties which were ruling East European countries. The difference is that East European parties fell under public pressure after the people were sure Soviet tanks would not be used against them like the incidents which occurred in Budapest in 1956 and in Prague in 1968. Those parties did not take the initiative to change their situation or modify their method in spite of the signals coming from Perestroika in the USSR indicating a rising of democracy and human rights.

The Failure of the giant communist party is different because the request to change and divert to democracy and human rights released from the elected General Secretary of the Communist Party Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Eastern European parties access to the power was anti-democratic access, supported by the Soviet Union according to YALTA

¹ National Security Strategy of the United States, the U.S. government printing office. August 1991.

agreement which was signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (U.S. President), UK. Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Mr. Joseph Stalin. This agreement offered the Soviet Union complete domination of East European countries, while U.S. took the lead on West European countries. That strange agreement which was signed in a Russian resort on the Black Sea was the start of the coercive diversion to a communist pact and an imperialist pact disregarding the nations individual desires. It was not permitted for any East European countries to divert to be an imperialist country and vice versa, it was not permitted to any West European countries to divert to be a communist country. The Soviet Communist Party came to power after the Bolshevik Revolution 1917, a historical event. It existed for most of the twentieth century. That existence was insured after the Soviet role in World War II, which was a major contributor to the great victory of the Allies.

The behavior of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union was different from other Communist Parties in Eastern Europe. In spite of all ideological considerations, all communist parties collapsed when they were at the peak of the power, that was an indication of spoiling the correlation between those parties, their roles and their heritage in their societies. But correlate theoretically upon the establishment of those parties and their method to lead the nations.

It is difficult to separate the Theory from the Practice and the abstract idea from the practical practice, so the difficulty is to judge, because the majority of these parties were assumed by

Marxism and Leninism in spite of the distinctions in the implementation of this theory associated with the political atmosphere and circumstances for each country, each party pursued the same method, unlike the Social Democratic Parties, which assumed power in West Europe with different theories.

Some Communist Parties criticized the Soviet method of implementing socialism and some condemned the action taken by the Soviet Communist party in the mobilization of armed forces against some East European nations. The Italian Communist party and Spanish Communist party, which did not assume power in their countries, which functioned within West European countries where democracy allowed them to exist and offered the freedom for political activities, in competition with other social parties that did not believe in Marxism and Leninism.

The experiment to separate the Theory from the Practice had not attended the phase of the practical experiment, so we can not say the failure of the Communist parties in Europe was because of the misimplementations. There is not any communist party that can assure that they were implementing the right method which approves the accuracy of the theory, with the exception of few shaking countries like Cuba, Vietnam and China which are still suffering from this ideology, but still under the test especially after the great communist collapse.

The Fall of the Communist parties in Europe, especially the collapse of the Red Bear Communist Party, in spite of the several attempts from Mr. Mikail Gorbachev to save the existence of the

party until the last unsuccessful coup d'etat which occurred on Monday, August 19, 1991, when he resigned as General Secretary of the party, after he figured that the key players in that coup d'etat were members of the communist party.

The failure of the majority of the communist parties will affect the status of the minority left in the world and force them to review their status if they want to continue in political affairs. The first communist party to change its title is the Italian Communist party to "the Left Democratic party". There is no doubt that those changes forced the communist parties to reject communism and exchange it to democracy.

Democracy is the only criterion and accurate measurement to evaluate the right approach , also ensure that(the Communism collapsed Theoretically and Practically).

The role of the United States.

1. Arms Control: is an important component of a balanced strategy to ameliorate the deadly consequences of global tensions as well as to reduce their fundamental causes. President George Bush's initiative on Saturday, September 8, 1991,² and Mr. Mikail Gorbachev's on

² Remarks by President George Bush on reducing the U.S. and the Former Soviet Union nuclear weapons, on cooperation he said (We expected our bold initiatives to be met with equally bold steps on the Soviet side. If this happens, further cooperation is inevitable, if does not, then an historic opportunity will have been lost). On nuclear arms, he said(If we and Soviet leaders take the right steps; we can dramatically shrink the arsenal of the world's nuclear weapons, we can more effectively discourage the spread of nuclear weapons. We rely on defensive measures in our strategic relationship. We can enhance stability and actually the risk of nuclear war). the New York Times,

Saturday, October 5, 1991 for cutting nuclear weapons are assisting for arms control and decrease international tension by reducing the threat of thermonuclear war has long-term implications and many details to be finetuned. Mr Gorbachev went further in his initiative than President George Bush in calling for cutting nuclear arsenals. **APPENDIX 1.**

The U.S. goals remain to achieve an agreement that will enhance the security of the United States and its allies while strengthening international stability by :

- A. Reducing military capabilities that could provide incentive to initiate attack.
- B. Enhancing predictability in the size and structure of forces in order to reduce the fear of aggressive intent.
- C. Ensuring confidence in compliance, through effective verification.³

The pursuit of these goals has profited from the recent positive changes in East-West relations. Some were accomplished the past year when the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed to cease production of chemical weapons and to destroy, using safe and environmentally , sound procedures, the vast majority of their chemical weapons stocks. Also in Paris

September 28, 1991, P.4.

³ National Security Strategy of the United States, the U.S. Government Printing office, Washington D.C. August 1991, P.4.

NATO, the East European countries and the Soviet Union signed the treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE).

There is a lack of credibility about the U.S. Arm Control initiatives from the international community. Theoretically, the U.S. seeks stability, freedom, democracy, arms control and peace on the world; but practically, the U.S. willing and policy indicates vice versa, if we see the following considerations:

A. The U.S. arms sale is 41 percent of the world sales and it is the leading exporter.

B. The U.S. exported the weapons to some countries through the security assistance program, while those countries export the drugs to the U.S. and also violated the human rights.

C. The U.S. put a lot of pressure on the U.N. and the international community for nuclear arms control and proliferation, while assisting Israel and South Africa in these programs, and signed two treaties with Israel regarding to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI).

2. The U.S. and the Middle East. The sole superpower on the world is the United States of America; that leads to great responsibilities facing the U.S., followed by great duties. Today the U.S. has to think and review precisely about her satisfaction and succumb to Israel, and her anger and dissatisfaction toward the twenty Arab

countries and the other Islamic countries. The U.S. needs to issue its own policy on its own territory and refuse the imported political decisions by minimizing the zionist influence over its media, press and political decisions. The U.S. has to be impartial and fair to all countries in the Middle East and do not adopt a country on the credit of the others; especially, when the majority of the Arab countries has a great respect for the U.S. and has joint national interest. The peace talk is an American initiative, we hope that the U.S. put more pressure and influence the hardliners in the Israeli side, especially, when it refused the U.S. invitation to continue the second round of the peace talk in Washington D.C. on Wednesday, December 04, 1991, and want to change the date to be Monday, December 09, 1991, while all the Arab participants in the peace talk accepted the U.S. invitation.

3. The U.S. and the New World Order. The founder of the expression (the New World Order) is President George Bush, when addressed that to the Nation on Wednesday, January 16, 1991, so the U.S. can maintain its role and policy in the world by:

- A. Not interfering in the internal affairs of the other nations .
- B. Not investing its resources to weaken other countries.

C. No more imperialism and occupation on the world, because the U.S. is policing the democracy, freedom and human rights on the world to restore its authority, credibility, esteem and influence, especially , the nations reject the colonialism. The U.S. saw the failure of the Giant Red Bear Communist Empire and its dream to dominate the world by its diseased ideology, but suddenly it could not control and rule its states and republics, in spite of the great armed forces , which was one of the spectators and witnesses on that failure, when the Soviet nation welcomes the freedom and oppose the despotism.

D. In the past the U.S. had relations with some dictators regimes during the Cold War, but today the U.S. knows that the dictatorship may fall any time.

E. The U.S. should reject the zionist influence on its political decisions.

F. Does the U.S. nation have a clear national willing, or is the U.S. nation still a collection of different ethnic groups, races and minorities having controversial and questionable national willing and interests?

G. The twentieth century is the U.S. century, but the U.S.role is overwhelming,the U.S. economy.

H. The Gulf War provided the evidence that the U.S. role is to police the world's peace, freedom and democracy.

The End of the Cold War. Historically breathtaking, the year 1989 signaled the end of the Cold War and the success of antiautocracy movements in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. These two momentous developments under scored other harsh realities. The military competitive balance of power system which spawned the Cold War, although East - West tension has been reduced; the willing to rely on military forces in international relations has been minimized; the heartrending pleas for justice from peoples' movement representing those recently or currently oppressed in Eastern Europe, China, South Africa and elsewhere; there is still no promising international effort to secure the rights of people mistreated by their government, or by a colonist or by a global system.

The following ingredients must be presented in a working definition in post-cold war:

1. The two superpowers, the United States and the former Soviet Union, no longer face each other in a perpetual, ideologically motivated confrontation, because there is only a sole superpower in the world today the United States of America.
2. The two opposing alliance structures, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact (WP), which does not exist anymore; it ceased Mar 31, 1991.

3. The international economic structure and the third world are no longer the extended battleground of the superpowers. The End of the Cold War is a critical challenge, because it removes one of the most important adhesives that for forty five years held the Western world together-the specter of a security threat from the Soviet Union .

(It is possible that Gorbachev actually intended to terminate the Cold War rather than simply allowing it to end as a by-product of pressing domestic, economic adjustments).⁴

The confrontation and dispute between the U.S. and the Soviet Union has ceased, the consideration of the two giants may offer peace to the rest the world, which we saw in the Gulf War when efforts were united and the liberation of Kuwait achieved, or we will see a new economic competition, when each one has a great commitment to its interests and values.

Democracy and the New World Order. The fall of the Berlin wall in November 1989 brought unity to a democratic Germany. 1989 was the most dramatic year in a decade of rapid and broadbased movement toward democracy. The democratic movement touches more than questions of political organization. Underlying the regime transitions are a social revolution of values, principals and expectations.

There are many factors driving political changes around the world assisting the framework of the new world order:

⁴ Benjamin J. Cohen. Toward a Mosaic Economy, Economic relations in the Post-Cold War era. The Fletcher Forum of World affairs. Vol. 15, No. 2, Summer 1991, P.42.

1. The failure of communism, lauded by some as a totalitarian solution to problems of development and justice, those societies are in crisis not just of governance and prosperity, but health, environment and moral fabric as well.

2. The success of the democracies in competing with totalitarian and authoritarian states, that competition is part economic; democracies have provided an environment of growth that is both stable and relatively equitable, also provided social goods, principals among them domestic justice and individual liberty.

3. The success of democrats in founding their movements on indigenous, philosophies, histories, institutions and aspirations.

4. The democratic transition is the communications revolution which has empowered ordinary people as consumers and distributors of information, encouraging them to take control of their own lives, it has propelled economic integration scale, while raising expectations about the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

5. The collapse of ideology as a dominating political force, ideology's moment has passed as a forcible to command the nation. Today political communities around the world are struggling to cope with the demands of political and economic empowerment.

The Economic Order. After the World War II, the industrial nations succeeded in creating a remarkably open prosperous

international economic order. Rising volumes of foreign trade and investment played a key role in promoting the continued growth of domestic economies.

As the decade of 1990s began, the world economy has entered a critical period of transition. There are changes and developments in the advanced industrial nations, countries that dominate international economy. The emergence of Japan as a financial and commercial superpower, regional integration in Europe and the reunification between East-West Germany, will all have a great impact on international economic relationships and a great influence on the new world order.

The apparent ending of the Cold War can be expected to alter significantly the calculations that citizens and governments of the industrial world are likely to make in dealing with their common problems. Additionally, the accelerating redistribution of economic power among western nations in particular, the U.S. is competing with Europe and Japan economies, which may affect both the ability and the willingness of the U.S. to bear its traditionally large share of the costs of economic leadership. For the past forty five years, the specter of security threat from the former Soviet Union held western world together. Europe, North America and Japan may have been competitors in marketplace, divided by their divergent commercial and financial interests, but they never permitted themselves to forget that they shared a common security interest as well.

The economic ascendancy of Europe and Japan has sapped not only America's ability but more

importantly, its willingness to make painful sacrifices for the common interests.⁵

The United States looks to other industrial nations to shoulder more of the costs of economic stewardship. Late in 1989 the U.S. pressured the EC to take principle responsibility for organizing the West's financial contribution to the reconstitution of the newly liberalizing economies of Eastern Europe.⁶ It is the economic competition between the industrial nations to dominate more international markets, we will see in the near future new commercial and financial superpowers struggling to dominate the majority of the international market and play the key role in the New International Economic Framework Order. Japan is a commercial superpower, Germany after the reunification is following Japan, in spite of the great pressures from the other industrial nations led by the U.S.

A. Competing the U.S. and Japanese interests. During the 1980s the atmosphere between the U.S. and Japan had grown highly acrimonious, the main issue was the imbalance in their mutual balance trade. Japan's bilateral surplus with the U.S. soared above \$ 50 billion a year generating a rising tide of resentment and complaints from American business and labor. Americans criticized the Japanese for their habitual strategy

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ A survey of the European Community(The EC coordinates the aid of twenty four industrial nations under what come to be known as the phrase program "after the French word for light house". The membership of this new group of twenty four is identical to that of the OECD). the Economist magazine, July 7, 1990. P.19.

of massive penetration of the U.S. market in relatively narrow product lines which often caused severe injury to America's domestic producers. The U.S. action to counter the imbalance in trade stressed by restraint agreements on Japanese shipments of such products as automobiles, textiles, finished steel and machine tools. However, the major focus has been to promote increased American market penetration in Japan.

B. A Resurgent Europe. In the 1990s the U.S.-Europe relationship is likely to be dominated by three key interrelated developments: the reunification of Germany, the revived pace of integration in the EC, and the reform and reconstruction of Eastern Europe. All those factors drove to dramatic changes in the ordering of commercial and financial relations on the European continent. The great challenge facing those changes is: can the European governments promote their own regional interests without the U.S. assistance ?

C. Germany's Reunification. In 1990, 45 years after the Second World War, the unification still longed for by some but an almost forgotten issue for many, was suddenly back on the German agenda. The reunification happened unexpectedly, dramatically and quickly. The year began with the map of Europe showing two Germanies, one was belonging to the communist while the other was belonging to the capitalist.

Many thought that German unification would be a slow process in stages, but by spring of 1990 it became evident that East Germany was simply to accede to West Germany and adopt its

system. Unity will exact a painful price not only economically but in human terms. There is a cost in abrupt redundancies in the overmanned economy of what was East Germany. Germany's reunification certainly alters the balance of economic power among the industrial nations. The Germans were already beginning to assert themselves more forcefully in various international economic forums even before political reunification was formally complete. Moreover, the Germans are not alone, they are also part of the border European community.

D. An economic earthquake is in the making among the three giant commercial and financial superpowers the U.S., Japan, and Germany. The attempt from Japan and Germany to obtain a permanent seat in the security council in the U.N. has great impact on the framework of the Economic World Order.

The United Nations. The U.N. should serve as the framework for the promotion of the new world order in reference to maintenance of peace, security and the promotion of the rule of the international law as well as in the context of the promotion of human rights, and economic and social development. The best demonstration of the United Nation's potential for conflict management was its response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

The role of U.N. is still paralyzed, unless the members of this international organization cooperate to equip it with the proper authority and capability to meet its responsibilities to

serve as the framework for the promotion of the New World Order. The members of the U.N. should emphasize on the following considerations:

1. Increase the effectiveness of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace and security, and improve and enhance more extensive cooperation between the Security Council and regional political bodies. A regional dispute should first be approached through the appropriate regional organizations.
2. To promote the rule of law, the united Nations should develop norms that would by application become international law.
3. The role of the International Court of Justice should be strengthened especially as regards the enforcement of its decisions.
4. Avoid the sensitive issue of the implementation which referred to the United Nations intervention "in matters which are essentially with the domestic jurisdiction of any state".
5. The violations of human rights still taking place in different areas of the world constitute one of the main causes of unrest and potential conflict. This source of conflict should therefore be eliminated if a genuine new world order has to prevail.
6. Eliminate poverty in the world and reduce the grave economic disparities existing between developed and developing countries.
7. Broaden the concept of international security to include

the concern of people in the developing world over insecure feelings owing to the neglect of their basic needs. Also, consider how the Security Council could look at threats to international peace which were not of military nature but involved such complex issues as human rights, decolonization, poverty, disasters, drugs and the environment.

8. Promote the New International Economic Order which characterized by the rejection of confrontational debates on economic issues between the East and the West. The United Nations should set up a comprehensive agenda taking into account the respective interests of Members of the States of the East and those of the West so that an agreement could be reached on how to manage the world economy.

9. There is no doubt that the United Nations has a major contribution to make in the promotion of a new world order which could meet the expectations of the international community.

The Role of the Islamic World and Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Historically the Islamic World was a major center of civilization for several centuries. The Islamic/Arab Empire was a form of regionalized world order in its time, its political and economical influence spread around the globe.

The Islam as a religion is reviving throughout the world. The number of Muslims is increasing, so the Islamic World is expanding in spite of the challenges of the East and the West. For example, three members of the Islamic World nations Pakistan, Libya and Iraq

are pursued by the West led by the U.S., because Pakistan wants to change its constitution from manmade constitution to the Islam in according to "Al-Shar'ia"⁷, and try to develop the nuclear actors for peace purposes. Libya, because of its president Kaddafi, so why the libyan Muslim nation have to sacrifice and pay the price. In Iraq, Saddam Hussien still exists in power because the West wants him to exist, while the Iraqi Muslim nation is suffering from poverty, famine, dictatorship, hunger, massacres, genocide, sanction and severity.

The Islamic Community is criticizing the United States and United Kingdom pressure on the international community to obtain the excuses to demolish Libya. The media in the Islamic countries is focusing on the sensitivity of that issue and the great impact upon the moslems around the world and the great suspicious about the United States and United Kingdom's willing against the moslems as human and the Islam as a religion.

Islamic States which separated from the Soviet Union after the fragmentation of the union are characterized in the West as a risk. Why is U.S. dealing with the Islamic countries in this attitude while the majority of these countries have great respect toward the U.S. Most of the Muslims around the world believe that the U.S. attitude is satisfy Israel on the credit of the Arabs and the Muslims. The U.S. is not able and can not reject a political decision made in Tel Aviv and executed in Washington D.C. I hope the new U.S. mode and policy will change and reviewed properly and

⁷ Al-Shar'ia is the Islamic Law.

the U.S. regain its creditability in that important community.

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia can now be seen as the emerging regional leader in the postwar. Two powerful national symbols, the Islam and the Royal family, interact to establish legitimacy for the regime within the Middle East context. This important point must be recognized in the West because the Royal family has been criticized as moslems which really means non-western. In reality, the role of the Royal family is interconnected with the Holy places of Islam and can not be judged solely according to western tradition.

The defeat of Iraq eliminated the other continental states positioned to challenge Saudi Arabia's leadership. In large measure, the Gulf War was fought to protect the western interests in the region, secure Israel and to prevent Iraq from becoming the dominate regional power. The total failure of the Iraqi military machine left only Saudi Arabia in a dominant position, also acts as the major link between the Middle East and the U.S. This linkage means that Saudi Arabia has become the spokesman of the Arab world to the United States. Saudi Arabia solidified its dominant position within the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) by following policies of oil prices stabilization and by its position and contribution in the international and regional organizations like the Arab League, the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC).

Saudi Arabia played a great role in the Gulf war and was the

second key player following the United States. Saudi Arabia is a key country in any stability process because its leadership in the Islamic World and its economic strength as the first oil exporter on the world. The Saudi government believes and supports the framework of the new world order, an official position was addressed by his Royal Highness Prince Saud Al-Faisal, minister of foreign affairs, at the forty-sixth session of the United Nations general assembly in New York on Rabie Al-Awwal 22, 1412⁸ (corresponding to September 30, 1991). Appendix 2.

Conclusion.

1. The great events in Eastern Europe between 1980-1990, together add up to the greatest transformation in Europe since the end of the World War II. The Gulf War 1990-91 together add up to the greatest transformation of America's international reputation since the Vietnam war.

2. Many politicians think that the phrase "New World Order" means nothing at all. They believe the phrase is only one of the latest in a series of expressions of the most solid and established American tradition in world affairs.

3. The collapse of communism as an ideology and the fragmentation of the social union minimized the threat to the West and terminate the Cold war. This transformation from Eastern to Western, authoritarian to liberal, and communist to capitalist shows more signs of being unstable equilibrium rather than a permanent settlement.

⁸ The Islamic calendar.

4. The Reunification between East-West Germany will most influence the new world economic order. Also, in the near future we will see the new commercial and financial superpower (Germany).

5. The U.S. needs to review its policy toward the Islamic and Arab worlds to maintain its national and joint interests. The U.S. should avoid the discrimination in the Middle East between the Arab and the Zionists in Israel and to be more fair to the nations who respect her.

6. The Middle East needs the following security requirements:

A. There is a need for a coherent and workable balance of power, globally as well as regionally.

B. An arms control policy is required for the Middle East countries, by considering equity and justice.

C. There is a need for some kind of agreement or agreements between local countries in ways which will nourish practical regional cooperation.

D. An international program is required to impose tough sanctions against terrorists, whether their violence is perpetrated against people, property or environment by extortion, kidnapping, murder, bombing, releasing oil slicks or firing oil wells.

E. There is a need to introduce a disputes settlement process.⁹

7. The events which occurred in 1989 have very much defused and

⁹ After the Gulf War Regional and World Order problems. The Round Table. No. 318, April 1991, P.116.

confused the confrontation between the East and the West. The collapse of the Warsaw Pact and the fragmentation of the Soviet Union amount in many ways to a triumph of western ideology. The faith in free choice in economics and politics is dramatically confirmed.

8. The dramatic events in the Middle East, East Europe and the former Soviet Union punctuate the transition from the old era to collective actions and international consensus. Policy makers should anticipate that the wave of democratization of recent years will continue to be a driving factor in international policies. The broad global movement toward democracy does not eliminate the many problems of war and peace confronting the international community in the 1990s; but it does ameliorate some of them and it does not ameliorate some of them. It permanent the preconditions for a more cooperative approach to common international problems. This cooperation may will yet prove to be the foundation of a New World Order.

9. The New World Order is an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N's founders. In order to consider the role of the United Nations in the New World Order, it is necessary first to reach a consensus on the meaning and implication of that concept. The role of the United Nations has to be examined with reference to the promotion of the rule of law and the maintenance of peace and security as well as the context of the promotion of human rights and on economic and social development.

10. Will we see a new world order in accordance with what President Bush addressed to the nation on January 16 1991, or we will see a new world disorder? The world is waving, shaking and baking! Each nation, country, republic and state is trying to reserve its position in the framework of the new world order. What I see today is a world now in the disorder phase and it will take one or two decades to figure out the appropriate framework. We will see a new fragmentary Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America and Australia.

11. Where are the superpowers, the permanent members of the Security Council in the United Nations from the economic powers? Where is China, France, United Kingdom and the former Soviet Union. Will the definition of the superpower change from the military wise to economic wise? Is it the economic, commercial and financial super power? Is Japan and Germany heading to reserve seats in the Security Council in the beginning of the 21st century because they will become economic, commercial and financial superpowers beside the United States? I believe that the world is heading to the framework of the New Economic World Order.

Theoretical Frameworks

The following theoretical frameworks- definitions, concepts or theories are applicable to this problem.

A. Definitions.

1. **National strategy.** The art and science of developing and using the political, economic and socio-psychological powers of a nation, together with its armed forces, during peace and war, to secure national objectives.
2. **National policies.** Are conceptual and imply subsequent actions to further the national purpose and are undertaken in support of high priority national interests.
3. **National interests.** The preceived needs and desires of a sovereign state in relation to other sovereign states which constitute its external environment¹⁰.
4. **Democracy.** A government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usually involving periodically held free election.
5. **Monarchy.** A government having an hereditary chief of state with life tenure and powers vary from nominal to absolute.
6. **Dictatorship.** A form of government in which absolute power is concentrated in a dictator or a small clique.

¹⁰ U.S. Army War College Pamphlet. An Aid to Formulating a U.S. National and Military Strategy. Carlisle Barracks, PA. June 11, 1990.

APPENDIX 1

CUTTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Former Soviet President Gorbachev went further than President Bush in calling for cutting for nuclear arsenals. The leaders' proposals, and what's being done unilaterally and bilaterally:¹

THE PROPOSALS

The Soviet Union

- *Eliminate nuclear artillery shells and nuclear warheads from tactical missiles.
- *Remove all tactical weapons from ships.
- *Take strategic bombers off alert; keep their nuclear weapons in warehouses.
- *End alert for strategic missiles.
- *Stop development of short-range air-to-ground missiles, mobile long-range missiles.

The United States

- *Destroy nuclear shells and warheads now in Europe and South Korea.
- *Remove all tactical nuclear weapons from ships.
- *End alert for strategic bombers.
- *End alert for strategic missiles.
- *End of development of short-range air-to-ground missiles, rail-based system for MX missile.

UNILATERAL MOVES

The Soviet Union

- *Ban nuclear testing for one year.
- *Move or destroy some nuclear-tipped missiles.
- *Keep mobile missiles stationary.
- *Cut Soviet forces by 700,000 troops to 3 million.

The United States

- *Put all nuclear weapons now controlled separately by the Navy and Airforce under a single command.
- *Accelerate destruction of strategic nuclear missiles covered by START once the treaty is ratified by Soviet and U.S. legislatures.

JOINT ACTION PROPOSALS

The Soviet Union

- *Further reduce radically Soviet and U.S. offensive strategic weapons.
- *Eliminate tactical nuclear weapons from Soviet and U.S. navies.
- *Remove Soviet and U.S. nuclear weapons from forward tactical aviation units; place the bombs and missiles in centralized warehouses.

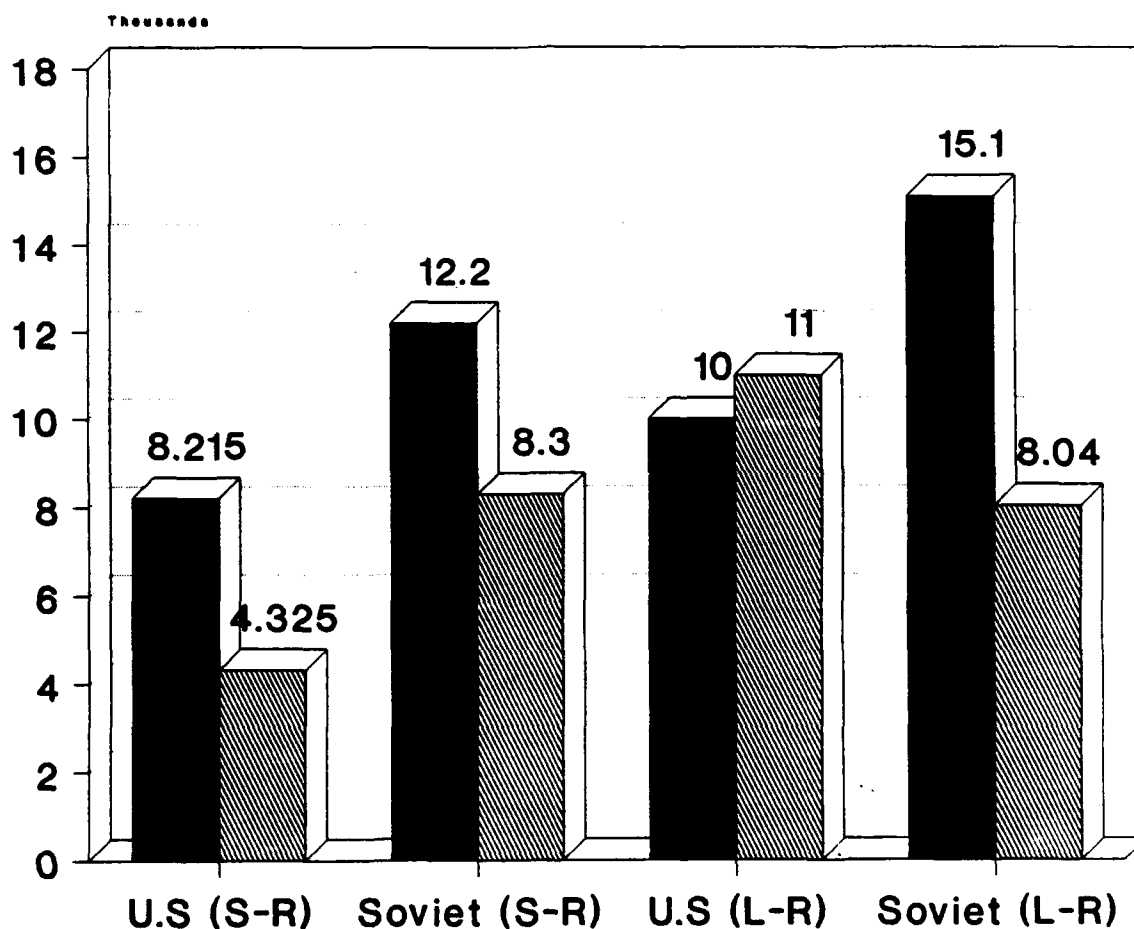
The United States

- *Reduce and eventually eliminate U.S. and Soviet ground-based strategic missiles with multiple warheads.
- *Agree to deploy a U.S.-Soviet defensive system against possible terrorist or Third World ballistic missile attacks.

¹Source: USA TODAY research, USA TODAY, Monday, October 7 1991, P.4A.

CUTTING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

THE NUMBER OF SHORT AND LONG RANGE



■ Now ▨ Proposed

USA TODAY October 7, 1991. P.4A.
(S-R):Short-range.
(L-R):Long-range.

PERMANENT MISSION OF SAUDI ARABIA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS

الوفد الدائم لـ المملكة العربية السعودية
لدى الامم المتحدة
نيويورك

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION

ADDRESS BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE

SAUD AL-FAISAL

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

OF

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA

AT THE FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

OF

THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY

NEW YORK

22, RABIE AL-AWWAL 1412

30, SEPTEMBER, 1991

MR. PRESIDENT,

I WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN BY EXPRESSING OUR THANKS AND SINCERE APPRECIATION TO 'H.E. GUIDO DE MARCO, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER, MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND JUSTICE OF THE REPUBLIC OF MALTA, PRESIDENT OF THE FORTY- FIFTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, FOR CONDUCTING THE WORK OF THIS BODY WITH SUCH ABILITY AND WISDOM. OUR THANKS AND APPRECIATION AS WELL TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, H.E. JAVIER PEREZ DE CUIELLAR, FOR THE CONTINUED EFFORTS HE AND HIS ASSISTANTS IN THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT CEASELESSLY EXERTED IN PURSUIT OF THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

I WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES OUR GRATITUDE AND APPRECIATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY REPRESENTED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE CONFIDENCE IT HAS ENTRUSTED IN ELECTING YOU TO PRESIDE OVER THIS FORTY SIXTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WHILE WE TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN THIS CONFIDENCE AND TRUST, WE WISH TO ASSURE THIS AUGUST BODY OF THE CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES AND HIS GOVERNMENT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS, AND OF HIS COMMITMENT TO ITS NOBLE GOALS AND TO ALL EFFORTS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THIS BODY.

MOREOVER, IT IS INDEED A PLEASURE TO WELCOME THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS: THE REPUBLICS OF LATVIA, ESTONIA, LITHUANIA, KOREA AND THE MARSHALL ISLANDS; THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA, AND THE FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA, HOPING THAT THEIR MEMBERSHIP WILL ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS AND UNIVERSALITY OF THE COLLECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION. WE ALSO WISH THE PEOPLES OF THESE COUNTRIES ALL PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE DRAMATIC EVENTS AND STUNNING CHANGES WE ARE WITNESSING TODAY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA PORTEND THE BEGINNING OF AN HISTORIC TRANSFORMATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER. AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES WHICH WERE BASED ON FUTILE IDEOLOGICAL RIVALRY HAVE BEGUN TO COLLAPSE AND DISAPPEAR. THE CURTAIN HAS DESCENDED UPON AN ERA OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CHARACTERIZED BY COLD WAR AND HEATED CONFRONTATION, AN ERA IN WHICH VAST HUMAN RESOURCES WERE WASTED IN A COSTLY AND TERRIFYING ARMS RACE THAT INTENSIFIED THE SUFFERING OF A SIZABLE PORTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THAT ERA HAD NEGATIVE IMPACTS ON THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND ESPECIALLY UPON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

TODAY WE ALL WITNESS A SHAPING OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER, ITS FOUNDATIONS ARE THE PRINCIPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS PILLAR, INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY. AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN WHICH ALL NATIONS, LARGE AND SMALL, RICH AND POOR ARE EQUAL IN EXERCISING THEIR RIGHT TO SOVEREIGNTY, INDEPENDENCE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH SAFEGUARDS THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES OF EACH COUNTRY AND DOES NOT TOLERATE INTERFERENCE BY ONE NATION IN ANOTHER NATION'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND WHICH RECOGNIZES AND RESPECTS THE RIGHT OF ALL PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND SOVEREIGNTY OVER THEIR RESOURCES. AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN WHICH NO PLACE EXISTS FOR HEGEMONY AND TYRANNY NOR FOR POLITICAL BLACKMAIL. AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH ADOPTS PEACEFUL MEANS FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES AND RENOUNCES THE USE OF FORCE OR THE THREAT THEREOF FOR THE PURPOSE OF REALIZING EXPANSIONIST GOALS OR ECONOMIC AMBITIONS. WE AS MUSLIMS WELCOME THESE HISTORIC TRANSFORMATIONS AND LOOK FORWARD TO STRENGTHENING THE FOUNDATION OF THIS NEW ORDER AND EMPLOYING ITS PRINCIPLES IN THE INTEREST OF REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY, PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS, SPREADING ECONOMIC WELFARE AND CONSOLIDATING WORLD PEACE.

MR. PRESIDENT,

PERHAPS ONE OF THE MOST PROMINENT INDICATIONS THAT THIS NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER HAS INDEED EMERGED IS THE UNPRECEDENTED FIRM POSITION TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TOWARD THE INVASION OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ. WHEN WE MET HERE A YEAR AGO THE WORLD WAS EXPERIENCING A HORRIFYING EVENT AND GRAVE TRAGEDY, THE OCCUPATION BY A MEMBER STATE OF THIS ORGANIZATION, IRAQ, OF ANOTHER SMALLER MEMBER, KUWAIT, AND THE BLATENT ATTEMPT TO DESTROY ITS SOVEREIGNTY, IDENTITY AND INDEED ITS VERY EXISTENCE AS A NATION. THAT WAS A HORRIFYING EVENT FOR EVERYONE BUT FOR ARABS AND MUSLIMS IT WAS ESPECIALLY PAINFUL. WE FELT OVERWHELMING BITTERNESS TO KNOW THAT THE STAB IN OUR BACK DID NOT COME FROM AN ENEMY WE WERE WARILY WATCHING, OR FROM MELEVOLENT ENVIOR HARBORING HATE TOWARD OUR PEOPLE. RATHER, IT CAME FROM A BROTHER TO WHOM WE HAD OFFERED OUR UNLIMITED SUPPORT AND GRANTED OUR UNCONDITIONAL TRUST, A BROTHER WE HAD STOOD BY IN TIME OF HARDSHIP AND TOWARD WHOM WE OFFERED HUMAN AND MATERIAL SACRIFICES.

HOWEVER, INJUSTICE CANNOT LAST NOR AGGRESSION PERSIST. THE ORDEAL HAS REVEALED THE TRUE AND NOBLE METAL OF OUR PEOPLE IN THE ENTIRE

GULF REGION WHO STOOD IN UNITY BY THEIR RIGHTFUL AND LEGITIMATE LEADERSHIP UNDER THE BANNER OF RIGHT AND RALLIED TO RESCUE THE VICTIM. IT WAS A CAUSE FOR PRIDE TO HAVE OUR ARAB AND MUSLIM BROTHERS AND OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS FROM ACROSS THE GLOBE STANDING BY US AND FIGHTING ON THE BATTLEFIELDS OF HONOR IN SUPPORT OF JUSTICE AND LEGITIMACY.

THE WORLD COMMUNITY DID NOT DISAPPOINT US EITHER. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TOOK A FIRM AND COURAGEOUS DECISION IMMEDIATELY TO STAND UP IN THE FACE OF AGGRESSION. THIS POSITION WAS REFLECTED IN SUBSEQUENT UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS THROUGH A UNIQUE SHOW OF INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS WHICH INDICATES THAT WE ARE TRULY ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ERA IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. IN THIS ERA THERE IS NO PLACE FOR TYRANTS WHO SUPPRESS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OR INVADERS WHO DESTROY OTHER NATIONS. WE HAVE SEEN THE FULLEST EXPRESSION OF THIS WILL WHEN THE WHOLE WORLD, STATE AFTER STATE, REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE A DE FACTO SITUATION IMPOSED BY FORCE AND AGGRESSION.

I WOULD LIKE ON BEHALF OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES, KING FAHD BIN ABDUL AZIZ, TO THANK ALL THE COUNTRIES, PEOPLES AND ORGANIZATIONS WHO STOOD AGAINST INJUSTICE AND SUPPORTED THE KINGDOM

OF SAUDI ARABIA IN ITS DEFENSE OF ITS SECURITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, WHETHER BY MATERIAL PARTICIPATION IN REPELLING THE IRAQI AGGRESSION. OR THROUGH SUPPORT IN THE INTERNATIONAL FORAE.

MR. PRESIDENT,

IT IS NECESSARY TO RECALL THESE EVENTS IN ORDER TO DIAGNOSE THE ILLS WHICH HAVE BEFALLEN US SO THAT WE MIGHT DEAL WITH THE RESULTS OF THE TRAGEDY. THE CONCLUSION WHICH MUST BE DRAWN FROM THIS TRAGEDY IS THAT NO BENEFIT WILL ACCRUE FROM AGGRESSION AND THAT THE AGGRESSOR SHALL BE MADE TO BEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF HIS ACTIONS. FURTHERMORE, WE MUST ESTABLISH SUCH MEASURES AS WOULD PREVENT THE RECURRENCE OF SUCH A TRAGEDY.

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA HAS SUPPORTED ALL SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS PERTAINING TO THE INVASION OF THE STATE OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ AND HAS SUPPORTED AND CONTINUES TO SUPPORT ALL INTERNATIONAL MEASURES AIMING AT THE ENFORCEMENT OF THESE RESOLUTIONS.

WE ARE TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT THE PREVENTION OF THE RECURRENCE OF SUCH AN AGGRESSION IS NOT POSSIBLE WITHOUT COMPLETE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE APPLICABLE UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS..

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA FOLLOWS WITH GRAVE CONCERN AND SORROW THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ WHICH IS AN INEVITABLE CONSEQUENCE OF THE OPPRESSIVE POLICIES PURSUED BY THE IRAQI REGIME. WE ARE TOTALLY CONVINCED THAT THE ORDEAL OF THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ IS RECEIVING THE APPROPRIATE ATTENTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ESPECIALLY THE COMMITTEE WHICH WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO DEAL WITH THE HUMANITARIAN NEEDS OF THE IRAQI PEOPLE.

THE FULL COMPLIANCE BY IRAQ WITH ALL THE SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS AND ITS COOPERATION WITH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE WILL ENSURE THAT SUCH HUMANITARIAN NEEDS WILL BE TAKEN CARE OF AND AT THE SAME TIME CONTRIBUTE TO FOSTERING THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE REGION.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER UNDOUBTEDLY HAS ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL RELATIONS AS MANIFESTED IN VARIOUS POLITICAL, SECURITY AND ECONOMIC FIELDS.

OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE GULF AREA PROVED THAT THE THREAT TO OUR SECURITY HAS IN FACT EMANATED FROM WITHIN THE REGION ITSELF. THE REGION

HAD WITNESSED A DEVASTATING WAR BETWEEN IRAQ AND IRAN BEFORE IT WAS AGAIN TORMENTED BY THE INVASION OF KUWAIT BY IRAQ. IT HAS BECOME CLEAR THAT ESTABLISHING ENDURING STABILITY IN THE GULF REGION REQUIRES THAT THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE GULF BE BASED ON SOLID AND FIRM FOUNDATIONS AND ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. THEY MUST BE CHARACTERIZED BY EQUALITY AMONG NATIONS AND MUTUAL COMMITMENT TO PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS THROUGH DIALOGUE AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF EACH OTHER. THIS SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL RESPECT AND COMMON INTEREST.

IT WAS THEREFORE ONLY NATURAL THAT OUR EXPERIENCE SHOULD AFFECT THE WAY MATTERS HAVE EVOLVED IN THE REGION AND SERVE AS A CATALYST FOR A PROMISING FUTURE VISION FOR US. IT IS NO LONGER ACCEPTABLE TO ALLOW THE SECURITY OF OUR REGION TO REMAIN SUBJECT TO THE WHIMS OF THOSE WHO HAVE EXPANSIONIST AND SUBVERSIVE HEGEMONISTIC AMBITIONS OR THE GAMBLERS WHO ARE READY TO RISK AWAY NOT ONLY THE INTERESTS OF THEIR OWN PEOPLE BUT ALSO THOSE OF THE WHOLE REGION AND THE WORLD.

THE LEADERS OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL HAVE GIVEN MUCH ATTENTION AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO THE FUTURE SECURITY

ARRANGEMENTS OF THEIR REGION BASED ON SELF RELIANCE AND COOPERATION WITH BROTHERLY AND FRIENDLY COUNTRIES IN MATTERS THAT SERVE THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OBJECTIVES.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE ARAB ORDER HAS SUFFERED A TERRIFYING BLOW DURING THE CRISIS OF THE IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT. THE OVERHAUL OF THIS ORDER HAS BECOME A NECESSITY IF IT IS TO BE ABLE TO PREVENT A RECURRENCE OF SIMILAR TRAGIC EVENTS. IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THE ARAB COUNTRIES THAT SUPPORTED OUR INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH A NEW ARAB ORDER WHICH SHOULD BE BASED ON THE SPIRIT OF BROTHERHOOD, SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL INTEREST. THESE CONCEPTS HAVE BEEN INCORPORATED IN THE "DAMASCUS DECLARATION" WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF EGYPT, THE ARAB REPUBLIC OF SYRIA, AND WITH THE MEMBER STATES OF THE GCC.

THE "DAMASCUS DECLARATION" IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR THE PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING FRIENDLY RELATIONS AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE ON THE ONE HAND, AND BRINGING INTO REALITY THE MUTUAL DESIRE TO BUILD REAL AND SERIOUS COOPERATION AND SOLIDARITY IN

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SECURITY AND CULTURAL FIELDS ON THE OTHER. THIS EFFORT WAS NOT AIMED AGAINST ANY ONE. RATHER, IT REPRESENTS A SINCERE CALL TO REFORM THE ARAB ORDER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THESE CONCEPTS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE ARAB LEAGUE.

MR. PRESIDENT,

OUR ARAB REGION CANNOT ALONE REMAIN UNAFFECTED BY THESE NEW AND FAST-MOVING CURRENTS WHICH ARE CHANGING THE PATTERNS OF RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS AND PEOPLES. WHILE STRESSING, ESPECIALLY IN THE WAKE OF THE TRAGEDY WHICH HAS BEFALLEN THE ARAB WORLD, THAT IT IS UNREASONABLE OR ACCEPTABLE TO BASE OUR DECISIONS AND ACTIONS ON MEASURES AND STANDARDS OTHER THAN THOSE ADOPTED BY THE WORLD COMMUNITY, WE THEREFORE URGE THAT THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION WHICH IS THE PIVOTAL ISSUE IN OUR REGION BENEFIT FROM THESE POSITIVE DEVELOPMENTS WHICH ARE TAKING PLACE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

TODAY, THERE EXISTS AN HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY FOR THE LAUNCHING OF A PEACE PROCESS AIMED AT ENDING THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT AND ACHIEVING A JUST AND COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT FOR THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION. A SOLUTION WHICH CONFORMS WITH THE UNITED NATIONS

RESOLUTIONS, RESTORES AND CONSECRATES THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. A SOLUTION WHICH INSTITUTES PERMANENT PRINCIPLES FOR SECURITY AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST BASED ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY AND SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.

THERE NOW EXISTS A MECHANISM FOR ACHIEVING THESE GOALS, APEACE CONFERENCE WHICH IS EXPECTED TO CONVENE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES OFFERS ITS FULL SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CARRIED OUT BY SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER TO CONVENE AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IT ALSO AFFIRMS THAT THE BUILDING OF ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS IN THE OCCUPIED ARAB TERRITORIES, INCLUDING EAST JERUSALEM AND THE GOLAN HEIGHTS, IS A SERIOUS VIOLATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, AND IS ALSO A MAJOR OBSTACLE TO THE EFFORTS AND ATTEMPTS BEING EXERTED TO ACHIEVE PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

IT IS INDEED OUR HOPE THAT THE WILL FOR PEACE WILL PREVAIL AND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL APPLY TO THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION THE SAME PRINCIPLES IT APPLIED TO THE GULF CRISIS WHEN IRAQ INVADED KUWAIT SO THAT THE INTERNATIONAL LEGALITY WILL BE FIRMLY

ESTABLISHED AND THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE, FREEDOM AND THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES TO SELF-DETERMINATION STRONGLY UPHELD.

THE ARABS HAVE CHOSEN THE ROAD TO PEACE. WITHIN THIS FRAMEWORK WE WELCOME THE DECLARATION ISSUED BY THE NATIONAL PALESTINIAN COUNCIL IN ITS LAST SESSION WHICH CONFIRMS THIS ATTITUDE TOWARD PEACE.

TODAY WE ARE FACING AN HISTORIC CROSSROAD. IT IS ONLY NATURAL FOR US TO CHOSE THE PATH OF PEACE FOR WE ARE A NATION URGED BY ITS RELIGION TO CALL AND TO HEED THE CALL FOR PEACE IN TOTAL COMPLIANCE WITH THE ORDER OF GOD ALMIGHTY: "SHOULD THEY LEAN TOWARD PEACE THEN YOU MUST LEAN TOWARD IT AND YOU MUST TRUST IN GOD"

MR. PRESIDENT,

AS WE SEE SUCCESSIVE INDICATIONS THAT THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS INDEED FORMING, WE FOLLOW WITH GREAT INTEREST AND ADMIRATION THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LEBANON. WE ALSO SUPPORT THE SUCCESSFUL STEPS TAKEN BY THAT GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AGREEMENT CONCLUDED IN THE TAEF CONFERENCE, ESPECIALLY PERTAINING TO ITS ROLE IN REINSTITUTING THE

AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF LEBANON OVER THE ENTIRE LEBANESE TERRITORY BY ITS OWN FORCES.

WE HAVE ALSO FOLLOWED WITH GREAT INTEREST THE SPEECH OF H.E. ELIAS AL-HARAWI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF LEBANON, IN WHICH HE CALLED UPON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ENSURE THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION NUMBER 425, WHICH STRESSES HIS GOVERNMENT'S DETERMINATION TO FACE THE CONSIDERABLE CHALLENGES IN ORDER TO RESTORE MATTERS TO THEIR NORMAL COURSE.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA JOINS H.E. THE PRESIDENT OF LEBANON IN URGING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE IN A POSITIVE MANNER TO LEBANON'S RECONSTRUCTION EFFORTS THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR THE ASSISTANCE OF LEBANON. WE ARE PLEASED TO PLAY HOST FOR THE FORMATIVE MEETING OF THIS FUND IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND WE WELCOME THE PARTICIPATION IN AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RECONSTRUCTION OF LEBANON BY ALL ORGANIZATIONS AND COUNTRIES.

MR. PRESIDENT,

SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE SORROWFUL EVENTS IN SOMALIA THE

KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA, ACTING ON ITS HISTORIC ISLAMIC AND NATIONAL SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY AND OUT OF ITS COMMITMENT TO THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THAT COUNTRY, TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO URGE ALL PARTIES IN THAT SISTER COUNTRY TO COME TO THE NEGOTIATION TABLE AND TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEM IN SUCH A WAY AS WOULD PRESERVE THE UNITY, SECURITY AND STABILITY OF SOMALIA, AND SO IT CAN RESUME ITS ROLE IN SUPPORT OF THE ISLAMIC AND ARAB SOLIDARITY.

THERE IS A CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM THAT THIS CRISIS WILL BE OVERCOME. IT IS THE ACHIEVEMENTS MADE AT THE MEETINGS OF THE RECONCILIATION CONFERENCE WHICH WAS CONVENED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF H.E. HASSAN GOULIDE, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBUTI, AND WHICH CONTINUED ITS DELIBERATIONS IN THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES, KING FAHD BIN ABDUL AZIZ, AND REACHED A CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT AND ENLISTED THE COMMITMENT OF ALL PARTIES TO SEEK RECONCILIATION AND NATIONAL UNITY. WE ARE INDEED HOPEFUL THAT THIS WILL LEAD TO FULL RECONCILIATION AND ELIMINATE ALL OBSTACLES AND OVERCOME OTHER DIFFICULTIES IN ITS PATH. FOR SECURITY AND STABILITY SHOULD RETURN TO THE LAND OF THIS SISTER COUNTRY.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFGHANI PEOPLE TO PRESERVE THEIR BELIEFS, INDEPENDENCE AND SOVEREIGNTY REQUIRES THE ATTENTION OF ALL OF US.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA HAS CONSTANTLY SUPPORTED THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFGHANI PEOPLE WHO DESERVE TO ENJOY STABILITY UNDER A GOVERNMENT OF THEIR OWN CHOICE; ONE THAT REALIZES THEIR ASPIRATIONS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES HOPES FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION WHICH SATISFIES THESE ASPIRATIONS. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPRESSED OUR COMMENDATION FOR THE SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE AFGHANI MUJAHIDEEN TO THE REPORT OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. WE WISH TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY NOW TO EXPRESS OUR SATISFACTION AT THE JOINT DECISION MADE BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION TO STOP ARMS SUPPLIES TO AFGHANISTAN, AND THEIR DESIRE TO ACHIEVE A FINAL SOLUTION TO THE AFGHAN PROBLEM WHICH WILL GUARANTEE THE RETURN OF PEACE TO THAT COUNTRY WHICH SUFFERED FOR A LONG TIME AND WHOSE PEOPLE HAVE MADE ENORMOUS SACRIFICES. WE ALSO FULLY APPRECIATE THE GOOD EFFORTS BEING MADE IN THIS REGARD BY H.E. THE SECRETARY GENERAL. THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY

MOSQUES HAS UNDERScoreD THE SUPPORT OF THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA FOR THESE EFFORTS WHEN HE RECENTLY MET WITH THE SECRETARY GENERAL

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE AFRICAN CONTINENT HAS RECENTLY WITNESSED SUCCESSIVE VICTORIES SCORED BY THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA USHERING IN A NEW ERA WHICH WILL CERTAINLY DISMANTLE THE RACIAL DISCRIMINATION LAWS.

WE CANNOT AT THIS POINT BUT EXPRESS OUR APRECIATION TO AND ADMIRATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN THE COMPLETE ABOLISHMENT OF THE POLICY OF APARTHEID AND DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA IS FULLY ACHIEVED.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA HAS SUPPORTED AND CONTINUES TO SUPORT THE EFFORTS TO CONTROL AND LIMIT THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND THE CREATION OF ZONES FREE OF THESE WEAPONS. WE MUST NOTE WITH SATISFACTION THE IMPORTANT AND SUCCESSFUL STEPS RECENTLY TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SOVIET UNION WHICH CULMINATED IN THE CONCLUSION OF AN HISTORIC

TREATY LIMITING THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS. WE ALSO COMMEND THE COURAGEOUS INITIATIVE WHICH A FEW DAYS AGO WAS REVEALED BY PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH AND WHICH CALLS FOR DEEP CUTS IN THE VARIOUS TYPES OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND PROPOSES FURTHER REDUCTIONS IN THE MOST DANGEROUS ONES.

IN COMPLIANCE WITH ITS POLICY OF PURSUING ALL EFFORTS FOR PEACE, THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA HAS JOINED THE NON-PROLIFERATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS TREATY AND HAS ABIDED BY ITS PROVISIONS. IT HAS ALSO DECLARED IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL FORAE ITS SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS TO BAN ALL CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THE MIDDLE EAST REGION WHICH HAS SUFFERED A NUMBER OF WARS AND ARMED CONFLICTS AND WHICH HAS BECOME A STOCKPILING AREA AND PRODUCTION PLACE FOR ALL KINDS OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IS INDEED THE REGION WHICH MOST NEEDS TO BE FREE OF SUCH WEAPONS.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES HAS EXPRESSED ITS SUPPORT FOR ALL INITIATIVES WHICH AIM AT LIMITING THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION IN THE REGION OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN EXPRESSING ITS SINCERE DESIRE AND READINESS TO ABIDE BY SUCH A BAN, THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CUSTODIAN OF THE TWO HOLY MOSQUES LOOKS FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN THIS NOBLE OBJECTIVE IS SUCCESSFULLY REALIZED SO THAT PEACE, SECURITY, PROSPERITY AND PROGRESS MAY PREVAIL IN THE MIDDLE EAST FOR THE BENEFIT OF ITS PEOPLES AND THE BENEFIT OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WHOLE WORLD.

MR. PRESIDENT,

TODAY, WITH THE PROSPECT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN THE MAKING, WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES WILL RECEIVE THE APPROPRIATE ATTENTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. WE ARE QUITE CONVINCED THAT PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE WORLD CANNOT BE ACHIEVED OR INDEED ENDURE UNLESS BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, COOPERATION AND JUSTICE. THEREFORE, FACING THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AT THIS IMPORTANT JUNCTURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND UNDER THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE WILL REQUIRE EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE COOPERATION BETWEEN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BASED ON THE FACT THAT SECURITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ARE BUT TWO SIDES OF ONE COIN.

INDEED, NO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT SECURITY NOR IS SECURITY OR STABILITY ACHIEVABLE IN THE ABSENCE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

FOR THIS REASON, IT HAS BECOME NECESSARY THAT THE DEVELOPED NATIONS FULFILL THEIR PROMISES TO RAISE THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS OF OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO REACH THE OBJECTIVES OF THE INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY WHICH WAS ADOPTED BY THE UNITED NATIONS. THEY SHOULD ALSO WORK TO INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM, STIMULATE THE FLOW OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE BY IMPROVING THE CONDITIONS OF MARKET ACCESSIBILITY FOR THE EXPORTS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS TO REACH THEIR MARKET AS WELL AS SETTING FAIR AND EQUITABLE PRICES COMMENSURATE WITH THOSE CHARGED ON THEIR IMPORTS FROM THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. IT IS ALSO HOPED THAT THEY WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE EFFORTS AIMED AT ENCOURAGING THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY THAT SUITS THE NEEDS AND CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS.

BELIEVING IN THIS CLOSE RELATIONSHIP AND INTERDEPENDENCY BETWEEN SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT, AND AS A WAY OF CONTRIBUTING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOLID STABILITY AND PROGRESS IN THE WORLD, THE KINGDOM

OF SAUDI ARABIA AND ITS SISTER STATES, MEMBERS OF THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL, TOOK THE INITIATIVE TO ANNOUNCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GULF PROGRAM FOR ASSISTING DEVELOPMENTAL EFFORTS IN THE ARAB WORLD. AND AS A RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT FUNDING OF DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IS INDEED AN INTERNATIONAL AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY, THE KINGDOM OF SAUDI ARABIA CALLS ON THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS TO JOIN THIS PROGRAM, SUPPORT ITS OBJECTIVES AND FACILITATE ITS EFFORTS.

MR. PRESIDENT,

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH IS AT ITS INCEPTION IS AN ORDER WHERE HOPES ARE HIGH AND CHALLENGES ARE GREAT. YET, WE ALL HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD OUR FUTURE GENERATIONS TO CONSTRUCT IT IN A WAY TO SAVE THESE GENERATIONS FROM THE DANGERS OF REPEATING THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST. WE SHOULD CREATE TOGETHER FUTURE HORIZONS WHERE PEACE, SECURITY, MUTUAL TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING MAY LOOM LARGE AND WHERE OUR FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY ENJOY STABILITY AND PROSPERITY.

"SAY, WORK. FOR GOD WILL SEE YOUR WORK, AND SO WILL HIS APOSTLE AND THE BELIEVERS"

THANK YOU, AND MAY PEACE AND GOD'S BLESSINGS BE UPON YOU.

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